

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 199833

40

ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 R

66603

DRAFTED BY: ARA/PAN:SMOREYBELL

APPROVED BY: S/S - THOMAS R PICKERING

ARA - MR KUBISCH

S - MR EAGLEBURGER

----- 054196

R 091540Z OCT 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PANAMA

INFO GOV PANCANAL

USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 199833

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, PN (KISSINGER) (TACK)

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S BILATERAL WITH PANAMA FONMIN TACK

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION: FM TACK, PANAMA OCTOBER 5, 1973,  
4:30 PM 35A WALDORF

1. PARTICIPANTS: PANAMA: FONMIN TACK, AMB TO US/GONZALEZ  
REVILLA, AMB TO UN BOYD, AMB TO OAS PITY, FOREIGN OFFICE  
ADVISER STAGG  
US: THE SECRETARY, AMBASSADOR AT LARGE BUNKER, ASST SECY KUBISCH,  
NSC MR JORDEN, PANAMA COUNTRY DIRECTOR BELL

2. SUMMARY: SECRETARY PRESENTED BUNKER AS "OUR VERY BEST  
DIPLOMAT" WHOM HE HAS CHARGED WITH REACHING PROMPT SETTLE-  
MENT--AND IN PRIVATE--CONSISTENT WITH NEEDS OF BOTH PARTIES.  
FONMIN RECOGNIZED SIGNIFICANCE OF BUNKER APPOINTMENT AND  
SAID PANAMA WELCOMES CONTINUATION OF NEGOTIATIONS, RECOGNIZING  
THAT CANAL IS IMPORTANT TO U.S. END SUMMARY

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 199833

3. FONMIN RAISED THE TREATY ISSUE BY SAYING THAT ALTHOUGH  
NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN PROTRACTED, THE TIME HAS NOT BEEN  
WASTED SINCE BOTH PARTIES HAVE COME TO KNOW EACH OTHER BETTER.  
HE EXPLAINED THAT OCCASIONALLY THE TWO NEGOTIATING POSITIONS

HAVE ALMOST CONVERGED, ONLY TO BE SEPARATED AGAIN BY DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF KEY LANGUAGE. (FOR EXAMPLE, OCCASIONAL U.S. USAGE OF "REVISION" INSTEAD OF "ABROGATION"). IN ANY CASE, PANAMA'S OBJECTIVE IS THE CLEAR AND SIMPLE ONE OF "PERFECTING ITS INDEPENDENCE", MEANING REINTEGRATION OF ZONE INTO LIFE OF PANAMA. PANAMA IS AWARE OF "GREAT IMPORTANCE" U.S. ATTACHES TO WATERWAY; IS WILLING THAT U.S. CONTINUE TO ADMINISTER IT; BUT INSISTS THAT U.S. ADMINISTRATION BE CIVILIAN ONLY IN NATURE AND DESIGNED TO SERVE THE ENTIRE WORLD; AND IS SEEKING "THE LEAST COMPLICATED TREATY POSSIBLE". TACK CONCLUDED BY SAYING PANAMA WILL MAKE "MAXIMUM EFFORT" RESOLVE DIFFERENCES QUICKLY AND HAS "OPEN ARMS" FOR AMBASSADOR BUNKER.

4. SECRETARY SAID HE IS ONLY JUST BEGINNING TO READ IN ON PANAMA PROBLEM, BUT IS ALREADY AWARE OF THE "PRINCIPLES" TACK PROPOSED. HE HAS ASSIGNED AMBASSADOR BUNKER--A GOOD PERSONAL FRIEND WHO HAS BOTH HIS TOTAL CONFIDENCE AND DIRECT ACCESS TO HIM--TO INITIATE NEW NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO BRINGING THEM TO PROMPT CONCLUSION. SETTLEMENT, TO BE SURE, WILL HAVE TO BE CONSISTENT WITH INTERESTS OF BOTH PARTIES, AND EACH WILL LIKELY HAVE TO MAKE "ADJUSTMENTS." SECRETARY CAUTIONED, ALSO, THAT "U.S. DOES NOT REACT VERY WELL TO PUBLIC PRESSURE" AND THAT NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE UNDERTAKEN QUIETLY.

5. "WE HOPE TO COME OUT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH A STRENGTHENED RELATIONSHIP--FOR THAT, YOU CANNOT EXTORT FROM US, AND WE CANNOT IMPOSE OUR WILL ON YOU", SECRETARY CONTINUED. RESPONDING TO FONMIN'S POINT THAT THE SETTLEMENT MUST BE ONE WHICH THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE APPROVE, SECRETARY SAID HE UNDERSTOOD PANAMA'S DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEM, BUT "IF WE DO A GOOD JOB THE OUTCOME WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES". SECRETARY CONCLUDED BY PROMISING HE WOULD KEEP A PERSONAL EYE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS AND VOLUNTEERED HIMSELF FOR A FURTHER MEETING WITH FONMIN IF AT ANY TIME HE THOUGHT IT NECESSARY, PARTICULARLY WERE A STALEMATE TO ARISE.

6. EXCHANGE OCCURRED WITH RESPECT VENUE OF NEGOTIATIONS, CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 199833

WITH TACK AGREEING AT LAST THAT NEGOTIATIONS NEED NOT BE CONDUCTED EXCLUSIVELY IN PANAMA, ALTHOUGH HOLDING THEM THERE INSTILLS NECESSARY CONFIDENCE IN PANAMANIAN PEOPLE. AMBASSADOR BUNKER CONFIRMED HIS FIRST VISIT TO PANAMA IN EARLY DAYS NOVEMBER.

7. COMMENT: IN OBVIOUS REACTION TO SECRETARY'S HUMOR, THE NORMALLY FRIGID TACK WAS RELAXED, AT TIMES WITTY, AND CLEARLY IMPRESSED WITH SECRETARY'S EMPHASIS ON DESIGNATION OF BUNKER AS SIGNAL OF IMPORTANCE U.S. ATTACHES TO THE NEGOTIATION, AS WELL AS WITH SECRETARY'S PROMISE TO WATCH NEGOTIATIONS PERSONALLY. IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION GONZALEZ REVILLA, BOYD AND PITY WERE EFFUSIVE WITH GRATITUDE FOR "MAGNIFICENT,

REWARDING INTERVIEW." SOLE INTRIGUING SUBSTANTIVE POINTS TACK  
MADE WERE WITH RESPECT TO UNCOMPLICATED TREATY AND CIVILIAN  
ADMINISTRATION OF CANAL ZONE, BOTH DISTINCT DEPARTURES FROM  
HIS PREVIOUS POSITIONS. KISSINGER

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 11 MAY 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 09 OCT 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** collinp0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973STATE199833  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** ARA/PAN:SMOREYBELL  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** P730018-2179  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19731066/abqceizc.tel  
**Line Count:** 115  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** collinp0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 23 JAN 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <23-Jan-2002 by martinjw>; APPROVED <21 FEB 2002 by collinp0>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SECRETARY'S BILATERAL WITH PANAMA FONMIN TACK  
**TAGS:** PFOR, US, PN  
**To:** PANAMA INFO GOV PANCANAL  
**USCINCSO**  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005